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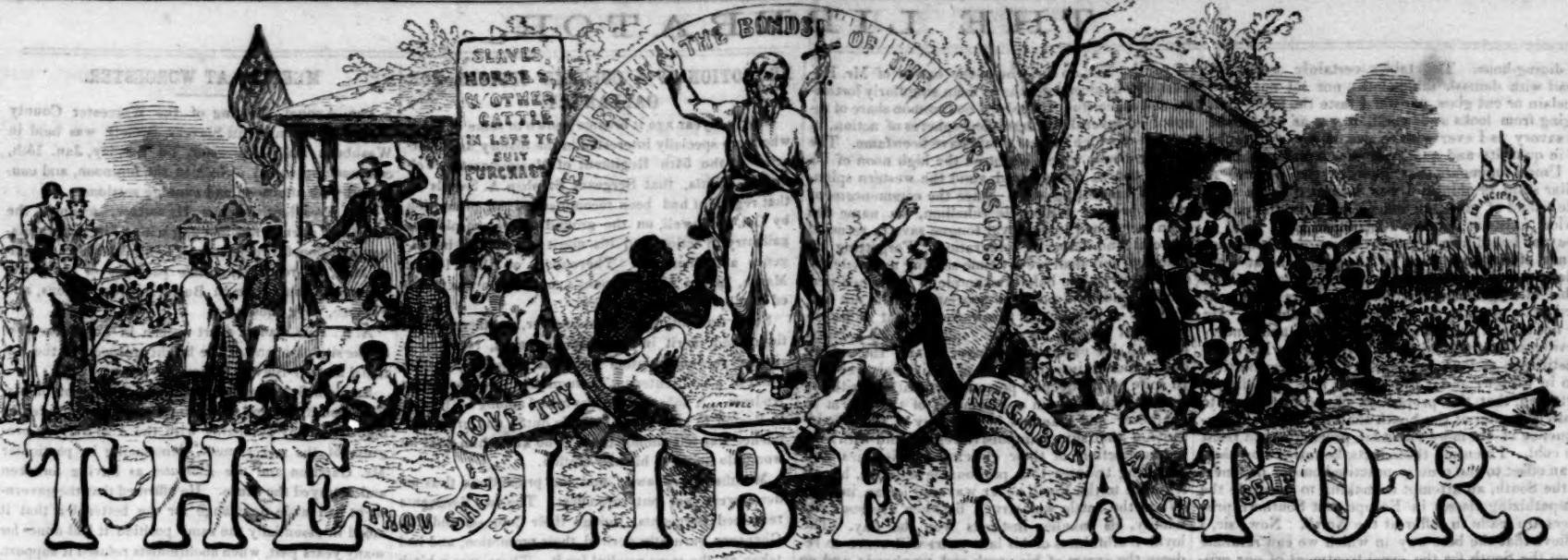
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WE LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 4.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1773.

Refuge of Oppression.

SPEECH OF FERNANDO WOOD.

IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On the proposed Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

This question, Mr. Speaker, has been very thoroughly discussed, and I doubt whether it is possible for me to add anything new to the discussion.

I have the honor to submit my views to the consideration of the House, and to state the reasons which have led me to the adoption of this resolution.

I stated that I should vote in favor of the amendment, and I have listened with a great deal of interest to the discussion to-day, particularly that part of it which has been devoted to the question of the amendment.

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He calls it a social evil; others call it a political evil. All the evil acts of the rebels are attributed to the fact that slavery exists there. And it is assumed that this rebellion never would have existed, that it could not have begun, that it could not be prosecuted or sustained, except that slavery existed with them in those States.

I will not stop to answer these fallacies. Our revolutionary fathers went into a rebellion, and were successful. The institution of slavery was not a hindrance to their success. When they threw down the gauntlet to their masters upon the other side of the Atlantic, the colonies all held slaves, and yet they prosecuted a seven years' war successfully, during which we lost all our large cities. The all held slaves, yet no one among our enemies in England declared slavery as among the evils of our rebellion, or that in consequence of its existence we were prosecuting a bad cause for a wicked and bad purpose.

Well, sir, we will assume that we have abolished slavery. What then? The gentlemen from Kentucky (Mr. Mallory) asked yesterday, what do you propose to do with these people when you have freed them? Deport them? As the gentleman told you, it would add \$4,000,000,000 to your debt; but that, in his own expressive language, would not deter gentlemen upon the other side of the House. The scheme had for its supporters such men as Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. Our new lights have gone against that. They desire to keep these negroes here for home consumption. First, to use them as instruments by which to obtain political power. Secondly, to retain the power thus obtained. Thirdly, to gratify vengeance against the slaveholder. Fourthly, as an excuse for continuing the war, and thus to continue the army of Government officials; and finally, if possible, to elevate the negro to the condition of the white man and give him suffrage, and by that means to create a power which will forever rule and control this country.

Sir, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Mallory) thus presented a question which must be considered and decided. Wendell Phillips, in New York recently, more fully developed the design. He boldly announced the doctrine. He sustained it, asserting that a crossing of the white and black races would create the most superior race, that has yet existed. And in reply to an inquiry, the distinguished gentleman to whom I refer boldly admitted that the object was to make the highest and most glorious specimen of human nature that the world has ever seen. Mr. Speaker, we may amend the Constitution, we may create the most superior race, but we cannot destroy the property of the white man. There is one thing we cannot do; we cannot violate without impunity or alter the fixed God.

The Almighty has fixed the distinction of the races. The Almighty has made the black man inferior; and, sir, by no legislation, by no partisan success, by no revolution, by no military power, can you wipe out this distinction. You may make the black man free, but when you have done that, what have you done? Have you elevated his condition? Have you advanced him physically, socially, morally, or intellectually? I asserted here at the last session, I now repeat the assertion, that the condition of domestic servitude as existing in the Southern States is the highest condition of which the African race is capable, and when compared with their original condition on the continent from which they came, is a condition of civilization, philanthropy, and humanity. Sir, look at the African in his native condition, where he is supposed to be not only free, but "monarch of all he surveys." I will ask the Clerk to read an extract from the volume of Captain Carnot, published by the Appletons, in 1854, describing what he saw in Africa, and the condition of the negro in his native wilds.

The Clerk read, as follows:

"In his wanderings in African forests, I have often seen a black man upon his prey, and with intense thirst satiate his appetite for blood, and abandon the drained carcass; but these African negroes were neither as decent nor as merciful as the best of the white race. Their manners were almost revolting, and in the invention of tortures that would agonize, but not slay, there was a devilish skill in the tragic scene that fascinated my eyes to the spot. A slave picture was torn from the wall, and the picture was a scene of horror, and in every instance the brutality of the women exceeded that of the men. I cannot picture the hellish joy with which they passed their time in digging out eyes, wrenching out tongues, tearing the ears, and slicing the flesh from the quivering bones; while the queen of the harpies exerted the butchery, gathering the brains from each severed skull, and using them for the purpose of poisoning the next victim. I do not require long to know, produce the requisite utensils, and fill the air with the odor of human flesh. Yet, before the various masses were laid broiled, every mouth was tearing the dainty morsels with avidity, denoting the combined satisfaction of revenge and appetite. In the midst of this appalling scene I heard a fresh cry of exultation, as a pole was borne into the apartment, and the butchery was recommenced. The conquered chieftain's wife. A hole was quickly dug, the stake planted, and faggots supplied; but before a fire could be kindled the wretched woman was thrown upon it, and the butchery was recommenced. I saw the fire of burning her alive."

I do not know how these brutalities listed, for I remember very little after this last attempt, except that a woman packed in planks like a bundle of firewood was left from the orifice, to be conveyed to their friends in the forest. This was the first time it had been my lot to behold the most savage development of African nature under the stimulus of war. The butchery made me sick, dizzy, paralyzed. I sank on the earth benumbed with stupor; nor was I aroused until nightfall, when my Kroomen bore me to the conquered town, and negotiated our redemption for the value of twenty slaves."

Mr. Speaker, I presume it will not be contended that the condition of the native African is, in any regard, equal to that of the American slave. Sir, the Africans live in their native wilds as slaves. The Africans are sold into slavery by themselves. I contend that their condition in this country is in every regard improved. From barbarians they become civilized Christians. From slaves they become freemen. Admitting all the sins with which slavery is charged, it cannot be denied that it has been an instrument in the hands of God by which to confer a benefit upon that unfortunate race.

Now, sir, I contend that if we desire to be philanthropic—if we desire to confer a benefit upon that people—let us afford every amelioration of their condition that we can under the law; but, sir, let us not forget that, evil though slavery be, there is yet a greater evil for this unfortunate country, and that is its destruction, the disunion, the consummation of which would be the annihilation of the race. The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Voorhees) said yesterday, that in his opinion, the confederates themselves are preparing to abolish slavery. I know that it has recently been stated in the South that rather than yield to the North, they would make terms with England and France, on the condition

of the recognition of their independence, with the abolition of slavery to follow as a consequence. Sir, that may be, but in my judgment, it will not be. Neither England nor France will interfere in this question upon conditions of that kind; nor do I believe that the confederate government would accept the recognition of their independence by any European Power, if based upon the abolition of slavery without the consent of the States and the people thereof.

Mr. Speaker, I had hoped that at this session of Congress there would exist a condition of public affairs that would bring about certain peace and Union; that these measures of aggression against the Southern States would no longer have necessity or palliation. I had hoped that this Government would entertain propositions which have been made for a cessation of hostilities and the restoration of this Union upon the basis of the existing Constitution.

But, sir, I have been disappointed. There is no disposition to heal this quarrel at all. There is no disposition on the part of the party in power to restore the Union upon the basis of the old order of things.

I can only say further, Mr. Speaker, that I shall vote against this resolution. I shall vote against it because it is not within the power of Congress to pass it. I shall vote against it because it is unwise, impolitic at this time, if we could pass it legally. I shall vote against it because it is another step toward the eternal separation of the two sections. I shall vote against it because it would be no advantage to the negro if successful. I shall vote against it because it is an interference with the domestic affairs of the States. I shall vote against it because I want to remove every obstacle to the peaceful solution of this great question; I want to alleviate the condition of the South as well as the North; I want to discontinue these controversies and struggle now raging between men who are yesterday were fellow-citizens of the same great country, with the same constitutional rights and privileges. I shall vote against it because I would leave to every State and every political community the entire control of their own domestic affairs. I shall vote against it because I want to preserve the rights of our constitutional liberties.

I want to continue this as a Republic. I want to disseminate power from this central point instead of concentrating it here. I want to preserve the limitations of the Constitution and of the Government as originally constructed, in theory as well as in fact. I want to preserve the relation of master and slave any more than between husband and wife.

I want to ally this excitement. I do not believe slavery has had anything to do with it. I know that at the North slavery is obnoxious to the people. I know that the sentiment there is against the extension of slavery upon the continent of America. But there are evils at the North which I should like to see exterminated. There are evils everywhere, among every people in every part of the world; and before we assume the right to do away with the evils of our neighbors, we ought to do that which is right ourselves.

We are in a war, a terrible civil conflict. Those who believe that it is near its termination are in error, because after we have abolished the armies of the rebels, there is power of resistance left among the people inhabiting that vast territory, which will make it necessary to have a standing army upon the continent of America. You will have not only to conquer, but keep conquered. It is not only necessary to conquer their armies, to deprive them of the power of resistance, but, in order to preserve the essence of our Government, you must conquer their hearts. You must get their assent or their acquiescence. You must learn to love the Union. Their hearts must be won, and when you do that, we will have ceased to have a republican form of government.

I want to restore the Union. Under no circumstances, I repeat, would I consent to disunion. But, sir, to restore this Union you must accompany the Army with the olive branch. You must learn from General Sherman, who has done more to conquer the people of Georgia by kindness than ten thousand triumphant armies marching through that State could do. It is only by conciliation and kindness that we can conquer the rebels. Reverse the picture; suppose we were rebelling against the Union, and we were to resist an attempt to subjugate us, and control our domestic relations? They are as brave a people, as generous a people, and as noble a people as ourselves, and as such it is wisdom to treat them. The Republican position for forcible abolition is illogical, because when their slaves are freed by this mode, you have enslaved the master. One follows as the consequence of the other. I say you must hold them in bondage before you can accomplish your purpose in this way. What is the distinction? A distinction without a difference. I should be loth to say here that forcible emancipation is the only way to restore the Union, but it is a combination of wickedness and folly. We want the Union; we want these States back again; we want to see these men represented upon this floor; we want to obey the laws and the Constitution. Admitting they have committed a wicked folly in attempting to rebel,

"To err is human; to forgive, divine;" and it is only, in my judgment, by conciliation, by affording them every guarantee of the Constitution and every privilege under the Constitution, that we can bring the people back again to the Union, and under one common Government, recognizing one common Constitution, one common head, and one common flag.

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. MR. GRINNELL.

IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On the proposed Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

I will detain the House but a few moments, intending to divide my time with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Farnsworth).

I regard this as a marked day in American politics and American history. I am happy to follow a gentleman from a slave State and a slaveholder too, I believe—Mr. King, who advocates a constitutional amendment whereby slavery may become extinct throughout all the breadth of the land. I rejoice that the State of Iowa, which I have the honor in part to represent upon this floor, and is known by her forty thousand majority for freedom, has so honorable a neighbor, so magnanimous and so able a legislator and statesman upon this floor.

It seems to me this is a day of great opportunities; great for the conservative Republican who shall never more have to apologize for his votes, correcting his record; and a great day for the Democrat, who may now break the shackles of party, and stand forth with great men and patriots in our early history.

ry, and march on in the royal highway of freedom. Sir, that is one of the days which make the text for volumes of history, big with the fate of races and an empire.

Now, sir, I have not to talk about my own consistency, having been, so far as I know, always an abolitionist. I am here to say that I do not enter into the discussion of the simple propriety of this measure. No; at the threshold I deny that there can be property in man. I never believed in the doctrine. My whole nature revolted at it, and the reading of books of law, volumes of history, and of God's word, never taught me else than that the institution was barbaric, in defiance of natural justice, and so shameful in its pretensions that in no State in this Union has its legal existence been established by any law. And here I desire to ask the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) when he spoke of the legal and constitutional rights of his people, where he finds a law in the State of Kentucky, or in any other slave State, that establishes the system of African slavery. It cannot be found. Slavery is an outlaw, and we are but proposing to execute the criminal that has been an outlaw for generations in this country.

It is well known that the British constitution and the common law of England and the decisions of the great jurists of England were against the existence of slavery in that country. One John Hawkins was the first to engage in the slave-trade in this country. He planted the institution here. Did that legalize slavery? Did he have from his queen any authority to traffic in human beings? None. How did he so long supported the masters, certainly to be let alone. Cannot they who have supported themselves and their masters in the past take care of themselves? That, sir, is a question that we can well afford to leave unanswered, since the enslaved race are establishing their manhood and fighting our battles.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. Brooks) stands up here in defence of those who are now in rebellion, so far as to declare that slavery has not ruled the country. I wish, sir, that he had been more conversant with American history; that he had read less of newspapers, and more of our political history. Why, sir, it is well known that the great majority of the people of this country have been controlled by the institutions of the South. We propose to break away from that control, and stand forth free and independent, never more to be barred away by a body of men banded together for any political or selfish purpose, much less by those of the tyrant.

If you look into the facts and figures in regard to this control, you will find that up to the year of the rebellion, for two-thirds of the time the Presidency of the United States had been held by slaveholders or southern men; you will find that of the Presidents of the Senate, slavery had sixty-one out of seventy-seven votes; you will find that of the Speakers of the House of Representatives, they had twenty-one out of thirty-three; you will find that of Attorney General they had fourteen out of nineteen; and that they have had the Secretaryship of State nearly two-thirds of the time; and since the slavery agitation, as it were, to be ready for this conflict of arms, for four-fifths of the time have the Secretaries of War and Secretary of the Navy been from the South.

Look, too, at the Supreme Court of the United States and its organization; slavery has had seven out of twenty-eight members. It was organized by the South. The South, sir, is the great power in the slaveholding States, and for the free States, notwithstanding that the free States exceed the slave States almost one-third in population, and one half in wealth and in business for the courts.

Let us do facts answer that assertion of the gentleman. And hence it is the business, the high and holy work of the American people henceforth to untether these shackles, and no more to be controlled by the system of slavery which was fast binding us, and defenceless, to be cast into outer darkness.

Mr. Speaker, I have noticed the agonies of gentlemen over the tomb of slavery. I do not forget how they agonized, even to the going down of the sun, against the abolition of slavery in this District. There were, according to them, untold horrors looming up from that measure; but what has been the result of its passage? It has raised the value of property in this District two hundred per cent. It benefited race and enacted justice. Not one of the horrors which filled men's imagination has visited us. Then, again, when the enlistment of negroes was proposed, we were told that the negroes would not fight, and that if we tried to make soldiers of our white troops would resist it, and the rebels would fight with increased desperation. Neither assertion was true. So, too, on the discussion of the confiscation law, we were told that if it were passed, rebels would fight to the last ditch, and our last victory was won. Twenty thousand people in Savannah and a hundred and fifty thousand in New Orleans have made your prophecy false. They came out to take food from your hands and welcome the old flag. You shed ink in great profusion in protest, and opened the lachrymal founts over unborn children; yet the born children fought on your feet, and you, gentlemen, are in tolerable health to-day, except in that some political which you seem to be on the verge of disunion. But there is political health to be found in this grand opportunity of the century which is given to make the land of the Pilgrims and of Washington free; so free that another rebellion will be impossible; to make the nation's destiny so glorious that Heaven shall look down to see.

Mr. Speaker, I am aware that there has been much boasting outside and inside of this Hall in effort to induce Democrats who have voted against the Republican party and against the amendment so long, to come now and vote for the amendment. I for one do not share the solicitude of many on this point. I am in no coaxing mood. If these gentlemen see no wisdom in giving orders for a shield, that there may be an early and decent burial of the which is in its death-throes and ought to have been hastened to the tomb long ago, we can endure its putrefaction till the "idea of March" at least, when at a called session of Congress, if a necessity, a jubilant majority will give the vote which they were elected to cast, and will ally their names with the honored dead of the centuries. We can pass the constitutional amendment then, without coaxing, thank God. The next Congress was elected for that purpose, and we shall have an overwhelming majority which will open a new page in our political history; and to vote for this constitutional amendment is just the feat to which those members fresh from the people were invited. Those who under party ties, and vote for it, cannot fall of grateful remembrance, for slavery and Democracy have been mutual supporters for thirty years. They cling together like the Siamese twins. And so theirs shall be the fate of those who vote for the amendment. I will simply state a few of the reasons that will impel me to do so. In the first place, I will vote for it because the Constitution provides for its own amendment. Secondly, I will vote for it because it allows the people of the States to exercise their sovereignty in the "popular sovereignty" which we have heard decanted upon, in these many years. I propose to have a practical illustration of the doctrine. I will vote for it because it is a measure of justice to millions in chains, thousands of thousands fighting our battles. The country demands it. The people, although their Representatives here heed not their voices, demand it. They demand it by the voice of four hundred thousand majority given in the late election to the present Executive of the United States. Above all there is a voice sounding out louder than thunder if men would hear it; it is the voice of God to this nation. Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

I rejoice, Mr. Speaker, to welcome so many who are coming into the ranks of free men, and to know that there is a breaking up of unholy alliances. I rejoice not in mere party victory, but I am gladdened in seeing men restored to their right minds, and placing themselves in the currents of intelligence and patriotism. Do not let us when there shall be a reorganization of the Government, when there shall be an adjustment, when the war is ended, we shall find men of all classes and of all parties allied together invoking the blessing of Almighty God to the end that this may be the great, the glorious, the free, the mighty nation of the earth.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I take pride in the fact, and let it go down to history, that but one gentleman on the other side of the House has stood up here to advocate "the sum of all villainies," American slavery. Thank God, he did not belong to a slave State. A thousand thanks, those who live in reason and justice, do not detract from the reason and justice of the amendment. Yes, sir, I repeat by standing up here in defence of American slavery. But let him (Mr. Farnsworth) living on northern soil and in a mighty city, degrade, if he choose, his manhood, defame the African race, and thus bear off all the honors to which his pandering and servile tongue is entitled. Let him enjoy his solitary ignominy," said all around me. Yes, sir, I repeat that gentleman, born and reared in a free State, has seen fit to stand up in this year of 1865, and declare that American slavery is the best condition of the African race. He deserves the shackles he would fasten upon others; and as I trust in God, I believe his posterity will at least wear his brand of ignominy, if not wear the chains he would force for others. Reproaches of scorn for slavery's defender, but thanks for those who have broken the shackles of party, and are coming forth for their country! I rejoice that this is their day of freedom, and that we are now about to give liberty to millions who have no voice in this Chamber.

I will now yield the remainder of my hour to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Farnsworth), who desires to speak upon this question.

SPEECH OF HON. MR. FARNSWORTH.

MR. FARNSWORTH: Mr. Speaker, "property," "vested rights," "robbery," are the drying cry from the agonized hearts of the men who defend man-stealing and woman-whipping, and who apologize for treason. I do not rise here for the purpose of making a constitutional argument, but only for the purpose of briefly answering these charges. It seems to me that the gentleman on the wrong side of this question, when used by the men who oppose this constitutional amendment.

"Property!" What is property? That is property which the Almighty made property. When at the creation He gave man dominion over things animate and inanimate, He established property. No man can say that He gave man dominion over another man.

"Vested rights!" What vested rights so high or so sacred as a man's right to himself, to his wife and children, to his liberty, and to the fruits of his own industry? No man can say that He gave man dominion over another man. No man can say that He gave man dominion over another man.

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THE THIRD EDITION. **THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC FOR 1865.**

The third edition of this popular Annual now ready.

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XXXIX Congress, so far as shown.
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The Rebel Government, Congressmen, &c.
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Native States of the American-born People.
Election Returns, for President, Governors, Congressmen, &c., in 1864, compared with the Presidential Vote of 1860.
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PRICE 20 CENTS. SEVEN COPIES FOR ONE DOLLAR.

Orders (enclosing cash) should be addressed:

THE TRIBUNE,
Jan. 27. New York.

INFIDEL CONVENTION.—The Infidel Association of America will hold their Annual Convention at Boston, on Tuesday, Jan. 24, 1865, at 10 o'clock, on Sunday, Jan. 23, 1865, (the anniversary of the birth-day of Thomas Paine.)

Infidels, Deists, Atheists, Liberals, Spiritualists, or Christians are respectfully invited to attend.

Per order of the Executive Committee,
J. M. BECKETT, Secretary.
Boston, Jan. 20, 1865.

THE PAINE BALL!

The One Hundred and Twenty-Eighth Anniversary of the BIRTH-DAY OF THOMAS PAINE will be celebrated by Grand Ball, at Minto Hall, 1131 Washington Street, (corner of Springfield Street, Boston,) on Monday Evening Jan. 30, 1865.

Ample preparations will be made to equal, if not surpass any good time ever enjoyed on a similar occasion.

Admission for sale. The proprietor will retire, offering no donations, and the Committee will spare no pains to render the Ball one not to be forgotten by those who honor it with their presence.

MUSIC.—Savage's Quadrille Band.
Dancing to commence at 8 o'clock.

Tickets, admitting a gentleman and two ladies \$2, for sale at the *Invitation Office*, or by any of the following Committees of Arrangements:—

JAMES M. BECKETT, HORACE SEAYER,
JOSEPH P. MENDEN, T. L. SAVAGE,
OTIS CLAPP, GLENN COFFIN,
F. G. HARTSHORN, PHILIP PECK,
Boston, Jan. 17, 1865.

BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.—The next lecture in the "Popular Course" will be delivered by Hon. GEORGE THOMPSON, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 1st, in Tremont Temple, at half-past 8 o'clock. Subject—"Now and Then."

Tickets may be obtained at the rooms of the above Association, Tremont Temple, at 25 cents each. A few reserved seats can be at the disposal of the Committee at 5 cents.

**A FARM OF 1500 ACRES
FOR SALE.**

THIS St. Mary's Lake Farm, 3 1/2 miles North from the city of Battle Creek, Calhoun county, Michigan, is offered for sale. The proprietor, desiring to retire, offers this Farm for sale on reasonable terms as to price and amount of payments. The Farm consists of 1500 acres of rich agricultural land as can be found in no other part of the State. 1000 acres of which are improved in the best manner. There are on this farm thirty-seven miles of rail road frontage, mostly New. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most beautiful lakes in the State, 1000 acres in extent, and one of the finest fishing lakes in the State. This lake is in the centre of the farm, and is a mile and a quarter long by one third of a mile wide. The surrounding country is rich and fertile. There are 400 acres of chestnut timber, and one of the best natural sites for residence on either side of the lake. No well naturally grounds connect with the shore of the lake. There are 100 acres of oak timber, and 100 acres of the best natural meadow land on the west side of the farm. The buildings are, the large Farm House, 88 by 56 feet, elevated over 100 feet; also four other Barns, 50 by 40 feet; also, a Steam Cigar Saw Mill, 80 by 60 feet—said to be one of the best mills in the State; an Orchard of 8000 apple and 1200 of the choicest peach trees on one wishing to go to 400 acres and pear trees, a large number of plums, cherries, quinces, and a great quantity of grapes and small fruits, too numerous to mention. There are 1000 acres of the best extensive Brick-yards on this farm in the interior of the State. A more beautiful residence cannot be found than is on this farm. A gentleman having sons to settle around him, he has made a fine place for his family, and has a large estate, each having a large front on the lake, with a beautiful sand beach. Battle Creek City is one of the best markets in the State, and is 120 miles from New York, and 100 miles from Chicago on the Great Michigan Central Railroad. No situation is or can be more healthy. All the water on the farm is clear as crystal, soft and excellent. This farm also has 250 tons of clover and timothy hay, and 1000 tons of sheep raising; it is now needed down to clover and timothy. The farm, with all the stock, sheep, farm utensils, every other article on the place, is offered at the greatest bargain.

Letters of inquiry, addressed by me at Battle Creek, will receive prompt replies. I refer to Henry C. Wright, Charles C. Burleigh and John Pillsbury, who have visited the St. Mary's Lake Farm.

HENRY WILLIS.

Battle Creek, Nov. 18, 1864.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral,
FOR THE RAPID CURE OF
Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption, and for the Relief of Croupy and Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

NO wife is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous are the cases of its efficacy, that every section of the country abounds in persons publicly known to have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other remedy for the pulmonary organs that are incident to our climate. While many inferior remedies thrust upon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted that man never forgets, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgotten.

We can only assure the public, that its quality is carefully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do their relief all that it has ever done.

Great numbers of clergymen, physicians, statesmen, and eminent persons, have lent their names to certify the unparalleled usefulness of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. We will not permit the insertion of these. The agents below named furnish gratis the **AMERICAN ALMANAC**, in which they are given; with also full descriptions of the compound.

Those who require an *attractive medicine* to purify the blood will find **AYER'S COMPOUND SERRAVALLO'S** remedy only use. Try it once, and you will be satisfied.

Prepared by C. AYER & CO. LOWELL, Mass., and sold by all druggists.

Jan. 6. 2m.

**CARPENTER'S
Great National Picture.**

**THE
Emancipation Proclamation
BEFORE THE CABINET.**

PAINTED ON OILYCANVASS, MEASURING 14 1/2 by 9 feet, and containing full-length Life-size Portraits of President LINCOLN, SECRETARY OF WAR, GEN. SERRAVALLO, GEN. SUTTER, POSTMASTER GENERAL BLAINE, and ATTORNEY GENERAL CABOT, together with a faithful representation of the Old Cabinet Council Chamber in the White House.

NOW ON EXHIBITION AT
WILLIAMS & EVERETT'S,
234 WASHINGTON STREET.

Poetry.

THE FREEDMEN OF WASHINGTON TO CHARLES SUMNER.

BY KATY CARLISLE.

On reading the anecdote of a black man who begged admittance to the Senate Chamber with "Boss, could you let a poor boy see Mass' Sumner?"

The white brow beneath the dark hair's careless grace,
The soulful eyes and chiselled lips, the stature
Like an archangel's—and that form was bowed
Nath'ral hands—those brow, all bathed in blood,
Dent even to the base earth, for me and mine?
And, lit by Freedom's fire on his heart's altar,
Those eyes,—that kindled like his own North star,
Or shot indignation flashes at the sight
Of wrong, till our tyrants quailed before them—
Had well alight glowed in death's eclipse, while bright
With their meridian lustre, for the sake
Of those who might not dare to speak his name,
Writ in their hearts—But now, when chains are broken—
When, with such hands as his reached down to us,
We may rise to win a place beside him—
And, looking through the vista of the years,
We see that in the future, we may look—
Aye, stand here as erect as our God made us,
Where none may dare to spurn us from these halls
Our brethren's swords, on hundred fields, have saved
From treason's torch and plundering hand—and gaze,
With all our rapt souls beaming from their windows,
On our deliverer's face! Yon heroic father,
So bowed with unwarred toil, his face
Furrowed by plowshares of deep sorrow and wrong,
Looks on the hero—looks with his dim eyes
Glistening with tears, his trembling hands outstretched,
Frail with the burden of the poor; his lips
Moving in broken, whispered words of blessing;
And all for "Mass' Sumner," who sits there
Pondering in his great heart on some new plan
For the land's freedom—O then slandering North,
Is this thy son? How does he look beside
Our braggart Southern lords, braves—when they carry
Their loaded canes; and gallant—when they whip
Our wives and mothers; generous when they heap
The hospitable board, and measure out
His peck of corn to the tiller of the soil!
But this man, with his lips of eloquence,
His Christ-like manner, and his sterling soul,
That Friendship or Judgment cannot buy—
O far-off barren coast, that Southrons scorn,
How much eagles dwell among thy rocks,
Methinks that I could hear to feel thy rock
Chilling my heart's blood, but to breathe a breath
Of thy free air!

Boston, Jan. 6, 1865.

MARYLAND REDEEMED.

Hurrah! hurrah! let joyous shouts resound with deafening peal;
The hills and rocks shall echo back the joy too true to fail!

Hurrah! hurrah! the mountain winds are calling to the free!
Hurrah! hurrah! chiming ocean's roar, "for Maryland is free!"

How anxiously we listened for the sovereign people's voice,
While doleful murmurs filled the air, we did not dare rejoice;
But louder, clearer comes the cry, bid trembling, doubting cease,
For, hark! it tells like silver bells, "Our Maryland is free!"

Down Alleghany's mountain heights, up from her deepest mines,
From every dashing rivulet within the county lines;
From Washington's green lovely hills, and o'er the flowery loe,
A mighty shout comes pealing out, "Let Maryland be free!"

The fertile farms of Frederick in noble chorus join
With Baltimore and Cecil town, and little Caroline;
And with them in the city ten thousand men agree:
Let rebels fight with rage and spite, our Maryland is free!

For many armed citizens, when dreadful carnage stayed,
Still thought upon their native State, and the curse that
On her laid:
And bands that many a bullet sped against the rebel Lee,
The halloos gave that loosed the slave, and Maryland made free!

The air is fresher that we breathe, it brings no bondman's sigh—
Our slaves are freed from hangings away, that ruled in days
gone by;
One strip is purer on the flag, one star more brilliant see;
On far ship-mast they tell the blast that Maryland is free!

O, free and loyal sister States, again we clasp your hand
With deeper love, with strengthened ties, together now
we stand:
And you, ye erring ones, O! hear a sister's warning plea,
Repent, return, and wisdom learn, for Maryland is free!
Let joyful praise from thankful hearts to God our Father rise,
That bonds have fallen from the slave, the scales from off
our eyes:
Pray Peace and Union, Truth and Right may soon in love
agree,
And millions say, "We bless this day, that Maryland made
free!"

A. S. STREED.

FREE MISSOURI.

JANUARY 10, 1865.

O, shily may the silver light,
From all the round moon's cycle bright,
Shine over the sleeping town to-night.

No smallest cloud to dim her ray,
She smoothes on her splendid way,
To bless the night of Freedom's day.

For unto many a humble home,
With quiet feet no more to roam,
The Angel of the Lord has come;

And broken lies the heavy chain,
That at his bidding snapped in twain,
And left the slave a man again.

Till many hearts forget their care,
As joyous, solemn words of prayer
Float upward on the quiet air.

And North and South, where still the broad
And swelling river rolls its flood,
Go up the freedom's ranks to God.

And West, to where, o'er worn lands,
Our freedom-loving Kansas stands,
And welcome him with outstretched hands.

O, earth! roll round, and bring the sun,
To shine upon the triumph won,
Upon the better life begun.

To shine upon the rescued State,
All thrilling with the coming fate,
That asked but this to make her great.

For now at last, redeemed and free,
She sends her voice to either sea,
And cries, "O, sisters, welcome me!"

Through all the storm-clouds of the night
Our God has led her steps aright,
To Freedom's path, most blessed sight.

Nor doubt we that her guidance still
And leadeth all the land still
He gives us peace. We wait his will.

A. E. Missouri Democrat.

DEATH.

Why, what is death but life—
In other forms of being—without
The narrow strait of man, the dull
And momentary dwelling frame which holds
The eternal spirit in and binds it down
To death with brutish? There's no such thing
As death; what's called so is but the beginning
Of new existence, a fresh segment
Of the eternal round of change.

The Liberator.

GEORGE THOMPSON IN PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, 1st mo. 17, 1865.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

ESTEEMED FRIEND—Last evening, our Concert Hall was crowded on the inauguration of a series of meetings by the "Social, Civil and Statistical Association of Colored People of Pennsylvania." It was expected that the presence would open this remarkable movement—the first of the kind—in our city. It was with the deepest pain we learned that illness prevented your coming, and a profound sympathy went from that meeting, and many a fervent prayer for thy speedy recovery.

The substitution of our revered friend George Thompson was warmly appreciated. It was generous in thee, and magnanimous in him. His very soul seemed electrified with the sight of white and colored people mingled together in so much earnestness of purpose.

It was a splendid ovation. His reference to your early and long-continued friendship, and his searching examination into the difficulties that surround our country, were happily and feelingly referred to. The climax of his oration was in bringing the matter to our very threshold. "Begin at home!" he said, "make diligent haste to fit yourselves for universal freedom."

This may well be the universal watchword of the hour. No wonder our friend Rachel Wilson Moore felt impressed to add a few words of benediction and encouragement. It was something new to find the plain-statured "Friend" upon the platform, urging our people to accept the great truths of the orator of the evening; and it produced a profound impression.

Mr. Thompson spoke for nearly two hours, and seemed almost overcome. Indeed, upon his arrival at my house, I noticed he was much fatigued. He is very weary with his constant labors. We must take care of him; he needs rest.

He decides to remain here until next week. As he is to speak in the Spring Garden Hall on Monday the 23d, he wants to be well rested for it. Hence he cannot fulfill an appointment made for him in New York State, which he deeply regrets. Feeble health alone prevents.

The colored people are making laudable efforts, and much success in gaining that recognition and equality which are their birth-right and their salvation, and the salvation of our nation.

My sincere regret for thy illness, and fervent hopes for a speedy restoration.

Ever thy friend,

ALFRED H. LOVE.

MARYLAND ADVANCING.

MY DEAR MR. GARRISON: Matters in Maryland are progressing finely since the emancipation of our good old State. Already we have been visited by quite a number of our Northern friends, while a great many natives of the State, who were forced by the influence of slavery to seek a refuge elsewhere, are (like the dove) again returning, and taking up their abode in the home of their earlier days. Frederick Douglass was among the first to visit us, to see the State of his birth arrayed in the beautiful garments of freedom, and progressing in the early dawn of the morn, which is yet to expand into a bright and glorious day. Mr. Douglass spoke six times to crowded houses. Our white friends turned out in strong numbers to hear this marvel of eloquence and statesmanship. Among them were members of the Maryland Legislature, members of the City Council, the Lieut. Governor of the State, Major Generals, clergymen, and other dignitaries. They all seemed delighted with him, and applauded most when he uttered his most radical sentiments. There is a prospect of Mr. Douglass locating in this city. There is no doubt that he would exert a healthy and powerful influence with our law-makers.

Madam Louise De Monte of Boston has given three readings here recently. The entertainments were attended by our best citizens, and she was highly spoken of by the press. Her pronunciation is perfect, her gestures easy and graceful, her voice rich and flexible, and her physique pleasing and commanding.

Tuesday and Wednesday of this week, Mrs. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper lectured in this city. You will remember that Mrs. Harper is also a native of this city, where she spent the better portion of her life, and received her education.

We would be more than pleased if you, Mr. Garrison, and your good friend Wendell Phillips, would come and speak a word to us. An overflowing house would greet either of you.

The great work of establishing a system of education for colored children free of expense has begun in this city under the patronage of an association of gentlemen of generous impulses and philanthropic feelings. I send you a copy of their printed circular, which I hope you will find room for in your valuable journal.

Yours, as ever,

WILLIAM E. MATTHEWS.

Baltimore, Jan. 14, 1865.

CIRCULAR OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE COLORED RACE IN MARYLAND.

SIR—Your attention is called to the Association formed in this city for the moral and educational improvement of the colored people.

The address of the Association to the public is hereto appended, and your aid and countenance in furtherance of its charitable object is earnestly requested.

Any amount of money you feel able to contribute may be handed to any member of the Finance Committee, and will aid the Association in their efforts to aid the education of the colored people—

Rooms of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People—Room No. 3 Bible House.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—Since the adoption of the new Constitution, very grave issues are submitted for your consideration.

This instrument, by its benevolent provisions, has added to the eighty thousand free colored people of our State eighty-seven thousand others, recently slaves.

These two classes constitute the greater portion of the labor of the State.

They are likely to remain among us, for they are attached to their homes, and no government has ever consented to the violent removal of one-fourth of its population.

For the most part they are ignorant. The habits of their former industry have not been such as to teach them ideas of thrift, carefulness or providence. Thrown upon their own resources, though their labor is in great demand, they cannot be expected to know the necessity of industry, or how to seek at home permanent occupation and employment.

We are forced to think that the duty of every citizen of Maryland to seek to make this population most useful to the State, as it is the bounden duty of Christian men to seek their moral improvement.

There are but two courses to be pursued. The one is to leave these persons in the ignorance and moral destitution in which many of them now unhappily are, and the other to endeavor by education to improve their habits, instruct them in their industry, make diligent the idle, reform the vicious, and stimulate the good, that they may rise in the scale of being, and be better fitted for the varied duties they are called on to perform.

The first course may at first seem the least troublesome and expensive, but ignorance is the mother of vice, and unless these people are taught their duty to the State, and their more important duty to God, and are not suffered to remain in the helpless state in which

slavery has left them, the necessity for almshouses, jails and penitentiaries will teach the folly of such economy.

Educated labor produces more than uneducated labor. It is, therefore, the interest of the State that all labor should be instructed.

One of the hopes of the friends of emancipation was, that measure would induce immigration into the State, raise the price of our lands, give demand for our labor in erecting mills and dwellings, and in manufacturing the various utensils necessary for the increased population of Maryland. But it cannot be expected that any number of the class of emigrants we desire will leave their homes to dwell in Maryland if they know they are to be surrounded by an illiterate, ignorant population, whose ignorance and vice are to be daily increased by withholding all instruction in the arts of labor, all educational improvement, and every teaching of morality which would lead them to higher ideas of duty to God and their neighbor.

To pursue this plan would deprive the State in the first place of the productive labor of one hundred and sixty thousand people, and would prevent desirable immigration into her borders, and oppress those of us now residents of the State with additional taxation to furnish what the expense of education would have entirely prevented.

Perhaps those of the colored people whose circumstances require daily toil for the support of their families can receive but little direct benefit at their time of life from any effort now put forth, but we believe the influence of the education of their children will be felt upon the home and the household, that family respect will increase, that thrift and cleanliness will be promoted, and the same beneficial effects which education produces upon other populations will be felt among the colored people.

They have been taxed for a long while for public schools, but have been allowed none. Their present condition, when we consider what has been denied them, and how little means or opportunity they have had for self-improvement, is a standing rebuke to those who think they are incapable of moral or mental culture.

They long for opportunity to show how readily they may become people no longer degraded by, but useful to the State.

The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, intends to do what it can to give them such opportunity. Its members will give their best efforts to this charitable purpose.

Those of our fellow-citizens who feel any interest in a people upon whom their vote has thrust the responsibilities of life, and those in whom Christianity prompts kindness and duty toward these people, are invited to give us their support in such manner as they may think the most useful, that we, if necessary, by private benevolence may do what long since ought to have been done, and we hope soon will be done, by the State, i. e., provide means for the moral and educational improvement of one-fourth of our population.

We annex a list of the officers of the Association:—President, Evans Rogers; Vice Presidents, Archibald Stirling, Thos. Kelso, Wm. J. Albert, Francis T. King, John W. Randolph; Recording Secretary, Geo. A. Pope; Corresponding Secretary, Joseph M. Cushing; Treasurer, Jesse Tyson.

Board of Managers.—Rev. F. Israel, Rev. Wm. Bruce, Rev. E. L. Brauns, Rev. T. Stork, D. D., Rev. J. F. W. Ware, Hon. H. L. Bond, Dr. C. C. Cox, Dr. R. W. Pease, Dr. J. C. Thomas, Galloway Chesnut, Wm. J. Albert, Wm. Kennedy, Hazlet McKim, Wm. T. Hopkins, Daniel Holliday, Ashur Clarke, James Carey, Alex. M. Carter, Richard M. Janney, Henry Storkbridge, William Daniel, Jas. Carey Cole, A. Stirling, Jr., John A. Needles, John T. Graham, E. Stabler, Jr., George B. Cole, Alex. T. Johnson, W. K. Carson, John S. Gilman.

Finance Committee.—Wm. J. Albert, Archibald Stirling, Sr., E. T. King, John W. Randolph, James Carey, Wash. K. Carson, Wm. Daniel, Edw. Stabler, Jr., Alex. T. Johnson, Geo. B. Cole.

THE POPE'S ENOYOLICAL LETTER.

We give below the larger portion of the Pope's encyclical letter of the 8th ult. The London Times, in its remarks upon this extraordinary document, says, "it is of a kind which has not been seen since the days of the Crusades, and it is a document which has yet launched against this evil world, more approaches in fatuous presumption this last investiture, and the *Stur* declares that "so outspoken and thoroughgoing a denunciation of all the principles of enlightenment, liberty, and progress has not been delivered for centuries." Pius IX. writes:

"Our venerable brethren, all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops in communion with the apostolic see—we, Pius IX. Pope, send greeting and our apostolic benediction.

As you are aware, venerable brethren, we had scarcely been raised to the chair of St. Peter above your heads, when we were informed that our venerable brethren, and upon all clerks and faithful of the laity committed to your care, our apostolic benediction from the most loving depths of our heart, in token of our charity towards you.

Pius IX. Pope.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the 8th of December, 1864, the tenth anniversary of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God.

TREATMENT OF LUNATICS.

We mentioned last week the result of the trial in Miss Underhill's case. The jury were doubtless satisfied that she was not insane, and that she was sane when she committed the crime. But her case has led to the examination of the law, by which persons accused of insanity may be imprisoned, and the result is a very deep and wide-spread feeling that the law is grossly and dangerously defective, affording and indeed inviting the most cruel abuse, with scarcely a chance for the insane, and a timely remedy. In this State, and in other States, on the deposition of two physicians that they believe A. B. to be of unsound mind, the magistrate before whom the deposition is made is required to issue his order for the confinement of A. B. in a lunatic asylum. Thus any man or woman, blind, old and young, or the chance of being heard in his or her defense, may by the opinion of two medical men, however influenced, be consigned to the most horrid imprisonment, and the very result produced which the Institution was designed to remedy. It is obvious that here is a great abuse. It is astonishing that a law so manifestly unjust and so easily prostituted to purposes of avarice or malice, should be suffered to disgrace the statute books of a civilized State. In no case ought a person charged with lunacy to be committed to a public prison or asylum, until the magistrate granting the order has given the accused an opportunity of being heard in his or her defense, and of being heard by two medical men, however influenced, be consigned to the most horrid imprisonment, and the very result produced which the Institution was designed to remedy. It is obvious that here is a great abuse. 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